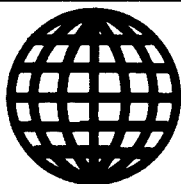


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# **Soviet Union**

## ***SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES***

No 5, May 1990

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# Soviet Union

## SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES

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21 August 1990

[Selected translations from the Russian-language monthly journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA published in Moscow by the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Refer to the table of contents for a listing of any articles not translated]

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## SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES

No 5 May 1990

### Social Sphere of Enterprises

905D0017A Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE  
ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 5, May 90 (signed to  
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[Article, published under the heading "Sociological Support for the Economic Reform," by A.N. Chernykh]

[Text] For a long time, capital investments into the social sphere were viewed as a direct deduction from the economic growth rate, as a sort of concession or social charity. An extremely oversimplified conviction prevailed that the urgency in resolving social problems declined as the material prosperity of the people increased. Life has shown the erroneousness of such views. It has become obvious that it costs a pretty penny to have cheap manpower. The less a person receives, the less he gives of himself and the lower the level of labor productivity. The industrially developed nations have long since realized that cheap labor is the least productive. The experience of many enterprises has shown that investments into the social sphere, into the "human factor" end up with a substantial economic gain.

Time has confirmed the objective importance of the law discovered by V.I. Lenin of the increase in human demands [1]. "I want more than I have" is something said not out of poverty but out of sufficiency. No matter how the level of consumption rises, the motives of labor and their role do not weaken. The basic requirements of the slaking of hunger, for clothing, housing and so forth, as they are satisfied, even on a minimally acceptable level, retreat into the background. Higher demands, both social and spiritual, become the leading incentives for activity. "When we see new demands on all sides," wrote V.I. Lenin, "we say that this is how things should be, this is socialism, when each person wants to improve his situation and when everyone wishes to benefit from the goods of life" [2].

In knowing the statistical data on the composition and number of workers, the amount of the incentive funds, the number of places in nurseries and preventive clinics and so forth, it is possible not only to study but also to regulate the processes occurring in the social sphere. But let us give some thought here: the processes, phenomena and the sphere are certainly all impersonal, an abstract general. For the specialist or the trade union activist this is clearly not enough and he must reach each person. Otherwise, it scarcely makes any sense to speak about a collective as an aggregate of specific individuals. It is theoretically wrong in social administration to rely solely on averaged data and in practical terms this is dangerous. In our nation, for example, there are 14 m<sup>2</sup> of housing as an average per person. Certainly this is little compensation for those waiting on line for housing and having less than 5 m per person. Moreover, it must be considered that an absolute increase in the bulk of

consumption is not always accepted and in actuality does not always operate as an indicator for an increase in the standard of living of the population. A specific feature of the well-being of the people, as a socioeconomic category, is that it is more of a relative than of an absolute nature. Let us assume that in the United States, at present per person there are 57 m<sup>2</sup> of housing area. But an American prefers not to enlarge the housing but rather to improve its quality, for example, move into his own, albeit small, house. The "comparative justice" assumes essential significance, that is, the ratio in consumption of the individual groups and strata of people and which forms as a result of the action of all the distribution instruments. In other words, it is important to know not only who receives how much but also in what manner the social goods are distributed, in accord with what criteria and what participation the workers themselves take in this.

The use of polls can provide information about a great deal. Above all, it can provide an assessment of the state of the enterprise social sphere as a whole and for individual parameters; the availability of various goods to different worker groups, for example, housing, nurseries and so forth. It is important to know the priority areas or preferences in the expenditure of the collective social development funds, in other words, where the administration is spending money. In surveying the trade union aktiv, it is possible to ascertain how the regular workers view the justice of the mechanism and methods of allocating social goods at the enterprise (vacation trips, garden plots, apartments), and finally you will learn the opinion of the collective about itself, that is, how the administration, trade union committee, labor collective council and other bodies of public self-administration are resolving the social questions. Having studied the picture as a whole, an experienced sociologist will go farther and take one other practical step. It is essential to know how the collective views the future changes in the sociocultural sphere, to collect practical proposals and recommendations (at the same time the assessment studies the already carried out measures and social innovations). We will disclose a minor secret: a sociological poll is not an end in itself. It performs a therapeutic function. In discussing painful questions, the people better understand themselves and others, and they unite around the common goal. Certainly these are no abstract questions concerning the feeling of being the boss or the number of newspapers read. Housing, food and earnings are of acute interest for all. The shaping of a positive, steady public opinion in and of itself represents an important value.

There is the special question of discussion, the use of polls for compiling social development plans (PSR). Undoubtedly, polls should be used for justifying the measures set out in the plan and for working out a certain social policy for the period being planned. But it is debatable whether subjective information should be employed as the indicators in the social development plan (be these specially worked out indexes or simple

distribution percentages). It makes no sense, in going to extremes, to plan a rise in satisfaction by so many percent (for example, housing by 10 percent). At the same time, it is very desirable to ascertain the sore spots "before" and trace the mood of the people "after" the introduction of the PSR. The percentages and indexes obtained with the aid of the poll here play a quite different role. They are one of the elements in the general mechanism of implementing the plan. The value of the subjective information rises extraordinarily if in addition to all else you compare it with the objective information. Then the "feedback" becomes particularly apparent, that is, the response of the people to the controlling action of the plan.

However, this is the disconcerting thing. As the data assembled by us have shown, regardless of the efforts made in recent years to improve the labor and everyday life of the people, the situation is changing slowly in the nation. A poll conducted in 1987 at the industrial enterprises and organizations of Moscow indicated that it was rare when social and domestic services did not evoke complaints: less than 10 percent of those questioned viewed these as unconditionally good. Approximately one-half stated that social and domestic services as a whole were not bad but there were individual unsolved problems. The technique of posing the questions here was simple, utilizing formulations like "how

do you as a whole view the working and service conditions at the enterprise?" Such an undifferentiated posing of the question provides information on the attitudes of the workers and suitable for disclosing general trends. Particularly so if public opinion is measured regularly, for instance, every 6 months.

Of course, the spectrum of social and domestic conditions is too broad and the differences between the individual elements of the working and service conditions are sufficiently great to limit oneself to just this. There is one question of the crowding of the work area, another is the polluting of the air, a third is the product orders and a fourth the housing question.... For this reason, along with a general assessment of the social sphere, it is essential to know the opinion of the workers on its individual areas. Let us advise that you should not regret any time spent on this concrete matter. The expenditures are more than repaid in allowing an opportunity for the people to have their say on matters of concern. And for yourself, you have obtained valuable information on the areas of trade union work.

For this, use simple methods for constructing the questionnaire. In the first place, a tabular form where the subject lists the elements of the conditions of labor and everyday life proposed for evaluation, while the predicate represents an evaluation scale. In this instance a tabular method is completely workable. A specific example for the Moscow enterprises is given in Table 1.

**Table 1: Assessment of Enterprise Social Sphere by Individual Areas, %**

Judge, please, what the situation is at your enterprise in the following areas?	Good	Satisfactory	Bad	Hard to Answer
Housing supply	3.0	17.0	48.5	31.5
Supply of garden plots	8.0	17.5	32.5	41.5
Supply of vacation trips to vacation homes and sanatoriums	19.5	37.0	19.5	23.5
Supply of nurseries, creches, Pioneer camps	25.0	28.5	13.0	33.5
Operation of dining room, buffet	10.0	34.0	42.0	14.0
Operation of first aid station, polyclinic, preventive clinic	16.5	38.5	21.5	23.5
Supply of service rooms, showers, resting rooms	9.0	30.0	36.5	24.5
Sport and physical culture work at the enterprise	8.0	26.0	37.0	29.0
Mass cultural work, amateur artistic activity	11.0	27.5	34.5	27.5
Operation of wall newspaper, major publications	13.5	36.0	23.0	23.5

The range of areas in the social sphere about which one must obtain information can be broadened (including by detailing certain of these). Thus, along with a general

assessment of working conditions, it is possible to ask the respondents to assess the component elements of noise, dustiness, temperature, vibration or gasiness.

In addition, the evaluation scale, depending upon the purposes of the poll, can have a larger or smaller number of gradations. Table 1 provides a 3-point scale of "good," "satisfactory" and "bad." The item "hard to answer" shows the absence of a firm opinion and lies, as it were, off the scale. Although it should not be excluded that this also can be interpreted in an informative manner. For example, as a lack of information or indifference to the undertakings of the collective, if one is assessing the work of the plant paper. We feel that it is scarcely advisable to narrow the scale to two divisions ("good—bad") and it is obviously worth thinking about to extend it. Certainly it is a matter of important questions such as housing, leisure and so forth which in an academic matter are dryly named "areas of the social sphere." But behind each of them lie human hopes, bitterness and expectation. This is the "human factor."

In principle, the number of gradations on the scale can be as many as one likes but within reasonable limits. Scales are known with 100 divisions and the respondent assesses the specific situation in percentages. But an optimum scale would not exceed 9-10 positions. Often a 7-point scale is employed; there are psychophysiological limitations on a person's ability to perceive and assess in a differentiated manner. In an analysis of social and domestic conditions, if the poll does not set complex research goals, it is completely possible to restrict oneself to a 5-point scale. In our example, to the 3-point scale one would merely add the extreme values of "very good" and "very bad." But the general rule should be that wherever possible, reduce the length of the scale. The optimum size is disclosed in the pilot stage.

The vital needs of persons can be studied differently, including with the aid of assessments of the areas of development of the social sphere. Most often an individual behaves in accord with how completely his needs are satisfied. The availability of nurseries and creches at the enterprise is judged differently by workers having young children and who do not have them, who have received their desired place or are still on the list. Naturally, the latter are more critical of the supply of nurseries and creches. However, access to social goods as such does not solve the problem although it does play an important role in the behavior of people. In our research a majority of those questioned (63.5 percent) used the plant dining rooms while the quality of service in them was viewed as very low with only 10 percent giving an evaluation of "good." Clearly, here the main role was played not by the availability of the dining room per se, but rather the quality of the prepared food and the service.

Recently, the quality of social and domestic services has begun to emerge in the forefront. The workers are bothered not only by the quantity of services offered but also by their quality and diversity. However, the data of the statistical reporting reflect chiefly the quantitative aspect such as children in nurseries and creches, the number of seats in the dining room, beds in the preventive clinic and so forth. Financial indicators record expenditures but not the end effectiveness of the social

sphere and its return. For this reason, a sociological poll at an enterprise which discloses precisely the quality aspect of phenomena is simply irreplaceable.

It is important to bear in mind that a qualitative assessment of working and service conditions depends not only upon material factors but also upon how these are distributed between the different employee categories and what is the mechanism of this distribution. The phrase "everything is understood in a comparison" expresses the actual state of affairs and the real conduct long noted by sociologists. The working and service conditions do not merely satisfy the various needs of the worker as a biological being. People are involved in a social group and assess their material situation considering what a neighbor or a comrade at work has, what is available to the enterprise leader or to the workers of other sectors. The mechanism of comparison causes in one instance envy for the more successful and in another as compensation for the "underpayment," if a person is convinced that he works more but receives less. As a result, the same working conditions may seem for the individual either as a good or as a punishment.

It is no secret that for a long time leveling tendencies prevailed in distribution policy. The basis of these was the so-called normed-rational methodology. What schemes for rational consumption standards and consumer budgets were created by the scientists. But they all rested on one thing, the volume and scale of production. Again they chiefly considered quantity and did not take into account how the social goods would be distributed within the social groups of society. Here the logic of argument was very ingenious. The range of needs of the population was set on the basis of so-called rational standards. This was the specific goal and from this the conclusion was drawn on the need to develop production at a maximum pace. Certainly, the supporters of such an approach stipulated, needs would constantly increase and consequently the standards would have to be adjusted. At the same time, production would rise, in following the higher demands of people.

The basic problem of the concept of rational consumption was the absence of clarity in the priority system: what had to be developed first, then second, if material resources in the nation were limited. Social policy at the enterprises was also organized largely in a mechanical manner. The indicators of the social development plans reflected rather the ideal model of the collective (the analog of the overall goal) which could be realized under artificial, ideal conditions. There were neither the funds, the time, nor the elementary patience or tenacity for the all-round development of the individual.

The 27th CPSU Congress unambiguously stated that the shortcomings in social policy had influenced the nation's economy and this, in turn, had been reflected on the development rate of the social sphere. Suffice it to say that the consumption fund during the 11th Five-Year Plan declined not only in terms of the rate but also in absolute terms. An analysis of budget statistics made by scientists at the TsEMI AN SSSR [Central Economics

Mathematical Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences] showed that the average price for purchasing a kilogram of beef by groups of the population with a low per capita average aggregate income was 1.5-fold higher than the average purchasing price by groups of the population with a high average per capita income. It turns out that the actual price of meat for the various strata of the population differs significantly from the price list. Here a large portion of the subsidies provided by the state for the meat and dairy sector is arbitrarily redistributed in favor of the better-off groups [3]. Disproportions in the income of the population also arise in the sphere of apartment rent and utility rates. Here the state subsidies, that is, the same taxes on the entire population, go primarily to persons with better housing conditions. It is not difficult to figure this out: the amount of apartment rent does not cover even one-half of the state's expenditures on the upkeep of the housing. There are significant problems in providing social amenities in terms of the different cities, regions, between the sectors and the individual enterprises. The eastern regions of Siberia for a whole series of parameters of the social infrastructure have indicators that are significantly lower than the republic average. Enterprises in light industry, the service sphere, agriculture and certain other sectors of social production receive significantly less money for housing construction than do the enterprises of ferrous metallurgy, the coal industry, heavy machine building and so forth.

At first glance, a paradoxical situation has arisen: with an ubiquitous shortage of vital amenities one can observe a clear "overloading" of persons with social guarantees and this, of course, does not always encourage hard work. The reason is in the unjustifiably large share of receipts from the public consumption funds in the total income of the workers.

Certain specialists see the solution in the concept of a socially guaranteed minimum of vital amenities and the essence of this is as follows. In the first place, the providing of gratis amenities according to a uniform measure which would ensure an equal level of satisfying the needs for all members of society regardless of the place held in the social structure of society or the sectorial division of labor. For this, it is essential to eliminate the socially unjustified advantages in free or preferential services. Secondly, the establishing of a new distribution mechanism which would broaden the sphere of paid services above the provided gratis minimum and in accord with the labor contribution. Society supposedly would receive additional sources for financing the housing program and improving social services due to the broader attraction of funds from the public.

The new social reality which our society has encountered since the mid-1980s has necessitated different forms and mechanisms of economic behavior. If gratis social amenities have ceased to encourage a high labor return from people and, on the contrary, impedes this, then thought must be given to other levers and standards. An abundance of social amenities is completely fit as a factor for

attracting and retaining workers at the given job, given enterprise and sector. But are these capable of increasing labor productivity if distribution is basically a leveling one? Who would work harder if everything is guaranteed and that is that? In the current situation, there is a weakening of the role of such social guarantees as the guarantee of a wage in accord with the labor contribution and the complexity of labor on the national economic scale, the guarantee of equal access to social services from the public consumption funds. Perhaps they will no longer as they did before confuse the two functions of distribution relations—guaranteeing and incentive. Such a confusion arises each time when an attempt is made to use wages to solve purely social problems while the public consumption funds (OFP) are given incentive functions that are not assigned to them. Typical manifestations of such a trend are the wage leveling and special payments.

Closely linked to the delimitation of the economic and social functions of distribution relations is the question of the role of the funds of sociocultural measures and housing construction (FSKMiZhS) of the enterprises. Are these considered to be a portion of the OFP or do they have some other content? In the opinion of S. Shatalin, labor wages express the economic relations between society, the collective and the worker and, on the contrary, the OFP are socioproduction relations [4]. The latter characterize the distribution of income independently of the quality and quantity of expended labor, and for this reason the FSKMiZhS in the political economic sense are not social consumption funds, although they have an external similarity to them. The FSKMiZhS which are formed from enterprise profit represent a variety of the collective's labor income in a specific natural form. These funds are provided to the employees not as citizens of a socialist society, but as members of a given labor collective. It is precisely the collective from its sociocultural funds which can provide the workers who have merited this by shock work even the fuller satisfying of the needs for medical services, education and food than is guaranteed by society to its members, wherever they live or work.

The retreat from the leveling methodology has altered the content of those standards by which the social sphere was regulated. As is known, rational consumption standards reflect a purely speculative notion of the rational needs of people and do not consider the real capabilities of production or the mechanism of distribution relations.

The new approach to the social norms eliminates many of these weaknesses and is directly linked to the achieved economic level. Consequently, a rational consumption budget expresses the maximum limits of consumption (within reasonable limits). Social standards serve as the guarantee for the minimum acceptable level of satisfying the needs of people with the achieved scale of well-being.

These, briefly, are the new approaches to social policy. The main thing in them is the significantly increased role

of the basic principals of economic activity. Gradually, we are overcoming the "mouth-to-feed" approach in distribution policy which was oriented at the number of workers regardless of their labor contribution. Under the conditions of predominantly budget financing, the slacking workers would have relatively little influence on the state of the social sphere or the degree of meeting the social amenities of the industrious and highly efficient workers. But now the situation is changing. Distribution is to come from a "common pot" which must be earned. The question arises of the socioeconomic effectiveness of investments into the social sphere. And not only on the level of restricting access to the amenities for those who did not earn them but also from the viewpoint of the priority of directions in social development.

It would be desirable that in this situation the momentary interests did not block out the long run. At a number of enterprises with bad working conditions, they are still attempting to solve the personnel problem by expanded housing construction. A temporary effect is achieved but the very problem moves into the category of the chronic: people, having worked 5-10 years and obtained an apartment from the enterprise, then quit. In this manner, personnel turnover is preprogrammed, and this is of the skilled personnel.

There must also be a revision of the normed indicators for the collective economic and social development plan as these relate to the social sphere. It is possible to isolate at least three types of standards which regulate the social sphere of the collective (these are sometimes termed the standards of social justice). In the first place, the guideline standards which indicate the desired development for the individual areas over the long run. For example, the government decision that in the year 2000, each family should have a separate apartment is oriented precisely to such indicators. Secondly, the directive standards and their fulfillment should be provided first, that is, unconditionally and independently of economic conditions. These include the standards for industrial safety, the standards for the maximum permissible concentration of harmful substances at the work site and generally all standards limiting the degree of the harmful impact of working conditions on the human organism. There are also other indicators. For example, when an enterprise converts to a lease contract or payment according to the residual principle (the second model of cost accounting), when wages depend completely upon profit, there should be minimum wage limits of not lower than the so-called subsistence minimum. The third type of standards is closely tied to the enterprise economy; these regulate the direction and amounts of development in the social sphere. Their range is limited by the maximally reasonable and minimally necessary levels of amenity consumption. For example, the construction at enterprise expense of housing with an improved layout of the apartments and a number of

rooms exceeding the number of family members. Even recently psychological relaxation rooms, saunas at shops and even sections were viewed as an unimaginable luxury but now they are the rule.

Previously it turned out that one department set the standards, another was responsible for their observance while the immediate producers were left on the sidelines. At present, various "levels" still endeavor to regulate absolutely everything. Contrary to the Law Governing the Enterprise from above they continue to send out instructions on the expenditure of the collective's incentive funds which do not belong to the ministries.

Let us return to our working example, the tabular form of a questionnaire (see Table 1). From it we can see that the areas of social services which have been given an unsatisfactory assessment need close attention. Under the conditions of limited resources, it is essential to set a priority for solving one or another problem. Until recently, the enterprises had to begin more often with those problems for which materiel had been allocated. A sociological poll is not needed here, but its value grows if one approaches the solving of social problems scientifically. And start, let us assume, with the collecting of the lacking information using an open question of the type: "Name the three most urgent problems in the social sphere requiring primary solution." The frequency of repetition for the various problems will precisely describe their acuteness. A different way is if you try to analyze how the various professional and sociodemographic groups in the collective assess the areas of the social sphere. It is better to begin by determining the typicalness or representativeness of these groups for the collective as a whole. If the collective is basically a young one, then the "youth" problems will be the priority ones, in a female collective it will be "women's" problems and so forth. However, a quantitative transfer is not the solely possible criterion. In a number of instances, a completely different approach is needed or, as the mathematicians put it, the method of solving from the opposite. A collective can have "a lot of experience" and consist almost one-half of prepension-age employees. There are not many youths here as there is a shortage of housing, bad working conditions and unskilled, uncreative work which is accepted for the sake of receiving a high pension. Of course, if one thinks about the future, then it is essential to solve the "youth" problems promptly, although at the given moment its representation is insignificant.

Social planning "with extra give" should also consider such a criterion as the scarcity of a number of professions and correspondingly construct a development strategy. As is known, enterprises experience great difficulties in recruiting personnel for the position of foreman in the shop. At the Kharkov Tractor Plant the production "lieutenants" were included on the preferential list for obtaining housing. And the problem was solved.

The workers themselves can play the role of experts for collecting preliminary information to set the preferentialness for various areas in spending the money of the FSKMiZhS. In this instance, you should turn to the representatives of all social groups at the enterprise. The formulating of the question assumes the following form: "Try yourselves to allocate the social service fund (FSKMiZhS) in percentages by expenditure area (it should

total 100 percent)." After this a list of areas for spending the fund is given. If he so desires, the respondent can supplement it (see Table 2).

For a comparison let us point out that the structure for the expenditure of money in the FSKMiZhS as a whole for the national economy in 1984 was characterized by the following data (in % of total amount of expended money):

**Table 2: Preferences in Expenditure of FSKMiZhS in Opinion of Enterprise Employees, %**

Areas of Expenditure	Share of Proposed Expenditure of Fund, %					
	0-10	11-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	Over 50
For construction of new housing	4.9	9.4	20.9	20.2	25.4	19.2
For repair of housing	68.4	24.4	6.0	0.2	0.3	0.5
For construction and upkeep of houses of culture	78.7	15.6	4.8	—	0.2	0.7
For construction and upkeep of vacation homes, carrying out sanitary measures	45.9	31.3	13.2	1.4	2.4	0.7
For construction and upkeep of Pioneer camps	40.1	44.3	12.7	0.8	2.0	0.1
For reducing cost of food in dining rooms, creches and nurseries	64.3	27.0	5.6	0.5	1.8	0.8
For carrying out mass cultural measures at enterprise	71.3	18.5	6.2	1.1	1.3	1.6

1. Construction (proportional participation in construction), expansion and major overhaul of housing, dormitories, children's and preschool institutions, Pioneer camps, sports facilities and other sociocultural projects; acquiring supplies, equipment, specialized transport for the designated facilities—35.1 percent.

2. Carrying out sanitary measures, including acquisition of medicines, trips for rest and treatment—14.1 percent.

3. Carrying out cultural-educational and physical culture measures—9.5 percent.

4. Reducing the cost of food in dining rooms and buffets as well as increased nutrition in nurseries, Pioneer and sanitation camps and preventive clinics—11.5 percent.

It must be said that the amounts of the funds for a majority of the national economic sectors, including industry, as yet do not provide for the carrying out of the set task of turning them into one of the most important sources for improving housing and sociodomic conditions. In 1984, as an average for industry there were around 80 rubles of funds per worker. Understandably, a large portion of the enterprises, particularly the small ones, did not have an opportunity to use the money for carrying out measures related to capital investments in housing and service construction. There has been a trend for a decline in the expenditure of the FSKMiZhS for the construction of housing and sociocultural projects. Thus, in the 9th Five-Year Plan this share was 50.2 percent of

the fund, in the 10th Five-Year Plan it was 43.4 percent and in the 11th Five-Year Plan (over the first 4 years) it was 35.4 percent.

What are the reasons for the undesirable trends? On the one hand, the enterprises endeavored to "shake out" funds from centralized sources. On the other, the ministries themselves, in drawing up the sectorial capital investment plans, did not always consider the requests of the enterprises to spend the fund for the construction of housing and children's institutions. Finally, the departments did not supply the enterprises with the limits of material resources and contracting work. With good reason a poll of selected trade union workers in different regions of the nation as conducted by the Scientific Center of the AUCCTU in 1987 (672 persons were polled) showed that the basic difficulties were not in the absence of finances at the enterprise (this was pointed out by 45.8 percent of the respondents) but rather in a lack of their own construction capacity. Generally, the problem of "commodifying" the funds earned by the labor collective is rather acute. There have been frequent instances when significant amounts have built up in the enterprise account but this money could not be used at its discretion or translated into real social amenities.

In truth, recently the rights of the enterprises to spend the money of the incentive funds have been broadened. In particular, in 1984, 13.7 million rubles were spent to provide aid to employees who were joining ZhSK



[housing construction cooperative] or carrying out individual construction. But this was extremely little and the FSKMiZhS is spent irrationally. As a whole for the national economy, at the end of 1984, the total of these funds was 6,184,400,000 rubles, but less than 1 percent had actually been used. Just with the balances it would have been possible to build an additional 570,000 apartments.

What does the trade union do under these conditions? In practical terms, very little. The trade union committees rarely involve the collective in working out the priority areas for the use of the FSKMiZhS and they permit the use of the funds for improper purposes. Sociological polling methods have been able to get a fix on the degree of the collective's participation in the distribution of the funds. We offer to the reader the following questions.

The first group characterizes the degree of information and glasnost. Let us give the data of a poll taken among workers of Moscow enterprises.

1. Do you know how the fund for sociocultural measures and housing construction (FSKMiZhS) is formed? (%)
  1. I know well—8.5
  2. I know approximately—36.5
  3. I do not know—55.0
2. Do you know the total amount of this fund last year? (%)
  1. I know—10.0
  2. I do not know—90.0

The second group includes questions disclosing the qualitative characteristics in the mechanism of spending the money of the FSKMiZhS.

1. Do you consider the choice of the areas for spending the FSKMiZhS correct? (%)
  1. Yes, I consider it correct—7.5
  2. As a whole correct, but not completely—15.0
  3. No, the choice of the areas is not right—3.0
  4. I do not know—74.5
2. How do you feel is the housing (apartments) at your enterprise distributed justly or not? (%)
  1. As a whole correctly—19.0
  2. There are cases of violations—11.5
  3. Unjustly, the waiting list is often violated—9.5
  4. I do not know—26.5
  5. Not interested because this does not apply to me—22.0
  6. Our enterprise does not provide housing at all—12.0

The third group includes direct questions. The employee is asked about his personal involvement in the distribution of incentive funds, including the FSKMiZhS. We would point out that according to the self-estimates, participation in fund allocation did not exceed an average of 10 percent, that is, the number of those participating was less than this figure. Let us compare the distribution of answers for the three groups of

questions. We can see that the low level of informing the employees about the FSKMiZhS and the amount of the fund closely correlates to the low, putting it directly, assessment of the justness of fund allocation. People are not inclined to consider effective a policy of an administration which does not consider their opinion or does not inform them about vitally important questions. This scarcely conforms to the developing process of democratization of social life.

The enterprises are actively converting to cost accounting and self-financing. But the problem of informing the collective and its involvement in decisions being taken to allocate the incentive funds is settled using the old methods. It is not surprising that at many enterprises it is impossible to establish an atmosphere of trust. Here one can scarcely speak about the collective itself (or rather its prerequisites, if the workers have been split into mistrusting "uppers" and "lowers"). It is essential to bear in mind that the mechanism for allocating the FSKMiZhS is also a form of carrying out the vitally important interests of the labor collective.

The administration and social organizations have not yet had their say in solving the social and domestic problems. As of now, the "triangle" (administration, party committee and trade union committee) more often receives satisfactory than good assessments for its activities in improving working and service conditions (Table 3). The labor collective councils also have remained passive.

The polls make it possible to assess the effectiveness of not only the traditional forms of work but also newly introduced or single measures. The role of the collective contract has long been known as a definite form for observing social traditions, however under the new management conditions this should grow. Will all the employees take such an active part in its preparation, discussion and adoption? According to the data of a poll, just 40 percent will. Can the Health Program be considered effective if 45 percent of the polled employees at the Moscow enterprises do not know anything about it?

**Table 3: Assessment of Activities of Administration, Party and Trade Union Committees for Improving Labor and Services of Collective Employees, %**

Object of Evaluation	Good	Satisfactory	Poor	Hard to Answer
Administration	11.5	44.0	22.5	22.0
Party committee	9.0	39.5	23.0	28.0
Trade union committee	10.0	44.0	23.5	22.5

The mass conversion of enterprises in 1986-1987 to two- and three-shift operations often assumed the character of a campaign. The organizers set the goal of achieving a rise in the equipment shift coefficient at any price. The

polls conducted showed that two- and three-shift operations were required far from everywhere that this conversion was made as the equipment was not fully loaded even on the first shift. Moreover, thought must be given on measures to compensate for the inconvenience of the shift work for the employees. An increase in the shift factor can be economically justified but the switching of an employee to the second and particularly to the third shift is tantamount to a worsening of working conditions. Here are certain conditions which would, in the opinion of the employees, compensate for the two- and three-shift operations: 1) pay additional wages for the second and third shift—57.7 percent; 2) organize a hot meal—32.8 percent; 3) improve municipal transport operations—28.7 percent; 4) change opening hours of stores, polyclinics, service enterprises—28.1 percent.

Experience shows that where preliminary measures were carried out, the transition to an evening and night operating schedule did not cause complications. However, the chief condition for increasing the shift factor is the economic involvement of the collective in obtaining additional income and this could help not only to compensate for the outlays of multi-shift operations but also solve other social problems.

The polling methods can also be used in analyzing the influence of labor and domestic conditions of work efficiency and fatigue of personnel. Here the latter is the inverse value of work efficiency. Special research has made it possible to establish that there is a rather close dependence between the objective indications of fatigue established by psychophysiological tests (reduced concentration ability, agility, resourcefulness and so forth) and the subjective indications expressed on a verbal level (a feeling of tiredness, a desire to stop work, a sensation of general malaise).

Scientists have defined the objective and subjective components of "antiwork capacity." Fatigue is an objective state of a lowering of functional productivity brought about by phenomena occurring in the human organism. Tiredness is a subjective sensation, one of the symptoms of fatigue representing the result of different-directed conditions, including those lying outside of work.

The most complete picture of the phenomenon is provided, of course, by combining different methods, for example, psychophysiological tests and a sociological poll. But their mass application for observing the behavior of large social groups of persons is made difficult rather due to technical, procedural factors. The optimum solution lies in combining a selective psychophysiological testing with mass polls by which the steady trends are recorded. For example, it is possible to trace the dependence between the capacity for work (tiredness) and the mechanization of labor, the working conditions and operating hours, determine the effectiveness of measures to organize the resting of the employees off the job as well as the activities of the preventive clinics, the psychological relaxation room and so forth.

Subjective tiredness is influenced by a multiplicity of factors (physical hardship and monotony of labor, the unrhythmicalness of the labor process, overtime). For this reason, for studying the basic, main trend it is essential to free oneself from accompanying or "background" factors. This is achieved either by the effective constructing of the poll sample or by a separate procedure at the stage of analyzing the obtained information. In any event, it is essential to endeavor to make the information on the effect of the various factors comparable in order to be able to say: "With other conditions being equal (or almost equal), such a factor had such an impact on work capacity." At first glance, such a task may seem impossible as certainly there are very many factors which influence the work efficiency of man. They, for our convenience, are in no way concentrated at one place (for example, it may be important when the worker had a vacation and where). But when it is a matter of mass processes, it is completely possible to disclose the statistical pattern, that is, the average trend. In particular, in mass polls it is possible rather clearly and definitely to disclose the dependence between tiredness and per capita income, the character of housing, the distance of the residence from work area and certain other factors [5].

Ordinarily, tiredness is measured after a work shift, if this is not related to certain special tasks. In the latter instance, the poll can be conducted either before the start of the work day (a study of how the distance to the job, transport load factors influence the work efficiency of a person) or during working hours (for establishing the optimum conditions for resting, breaks in work). Thus, the question "To what degree are you tired?" comes with the following covers: 1) not tired; 2) not very tired, as usual; 3) very tired. It is advisable to supplement this with a clarifying question on the degree of the "usualness" of the current tiredness. Correspondingly, the replies must be put differently: 1) I am less tired than usual; 2) about usual; 3) I am more tired than usual. In the stage of processing the two questions which have been provided, as we see, with a 3-point scale, it is possible to obtain a corrected overall scale. For this, a special procedure is employed and this has been named the logical square. Graphically this is shown in the diagram.

**Analysis of Degree of Tiredness by Logical Square Method**

Question 2	Question 1		
	Not Tired	Normally Tired	Greatly Tired
Tired less than usual	II	IV	
About usual	I	III	V
Tired more than usual		II	IV

The logical square method provides an opportunity to analyze more profoundly the content of the replies and

disclose their contradictoriness. For example, it is possible to doubt the sincerity of the answer to the first question "not tired," if in the second "more tired than usual" is indicated. The same is true of the answer "greatly tired," if it is followed by "less tired than usual." The replies to these questions must either be rechecked or removed from the analysis. The answers correct one another: the reply "not tired" combined with the answer "less tired than usual" is equal to the answer "normally tired," if it is supplemented by "more tired than usual." As a result, one obtains an adjusted 5-point scale which is used in the computer calculation and the content analysis along with other scales. Precisely such analysis has shown that a subjective assessment of work efficiency coincides with the objective indications of labor efficiency [6].

Thus, we have examined the problems of studying the social sphere of an enterprise using a sociological poll. Remaining outside the "frame" are numerous practical and theoretical questions which require a more profound and thorough analysis employing modern means of mathematical data processing.

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#### Development Prospects for Stockholder Relations

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[Article by Aleksandr Vasilyevich Vasilyev, leader of the Sociological Laboratory of the Mariupol Affiliate of the Donetsk Scientific Center of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. This is the first time he appears in our journal]

[Text] Recently there has been heightened interest in the questions related to the development of stockholder relations. This is not surprising, for in the current convoluted economic situation the labor collectives are endeavoring to mobilize all their reserves and resources [1]. However, these questions have only been partially worked out and only for enterprises (the purchasing of stocks by the employees of their own enterprise under previously agreed-upon conditions), "and it is much more complicated to organize a free market of stocks and bonds emitted by our enterprises and organizations. At present, this question has not been studied to the required degree. A securities market develops according to its own rather complex laws. In particular, there is the real danger of separating the stocks from that material-physical basis which they represent" [2]. Regardless of this, on the governmental level one can observe an obvious desire to mitigate the acuteness of the financial situation in the national economy by emitting stocks and securities [3]. For this reason, it is advisable to analyze a series of aspects related to the implementing of such radical measures all the more as for a majority of the workers, stockholder relations possess a rather high degree of newness and for certain persons are directly associated with the internally alien capitalist society.

Let us begin by saying that the converting of the national economic complex to the new economic conditions is ultimately aimed at establishing real opportunities of development for all members of society by rationalizing the structure of demand and its most complete satisfaction. Stockholder relations can and should play a positive role in solving this problem through overcoming the alienation of man from the means of production and which had become an obstacle on the path of national economic development within the old economic mechanism.

In our view, the most acceptable form at present of stockholder relations is being effectively realized at the Lvov Conveyer PO [Production Association]. For this reason, in the aim of studying the impact of stockholder relations on changes in social conscience in 1989 a sociological study was carried out. In using the random selection method as well as the zoning of the general aggregate, we chose typical structural subdivisions of the production association and in them mechanically determined the sampling volumes. We would point out that the sample following an anonymous questionnaire corresponded to the main demand of membership in the stock society and in conducting an individual social questioning we employed a series type of sample, as statistical series were the units of selection, that is, an aggregate of statistically different units. As a total, over 3,000 persons were polled. For a comparative analysis of the influence of stockholder relations, we used comparable data of a questionnaire conducted approximately at the same time at the Azovmash [Azov Machinery] PO as well as the Mariupol and Sevastopol Gorispolkoms.

In introducing the stocks, the enterprise leadership proposed two types of securities for the labor collective: red

ones totaling two salaries at the expense of the enterprise and green ones paid from the personal funds of the workers and the total permitted amount of these would depend upon the specific labor contribution and the length of employment at the association. Precisely such an approach made it possible to implement real shifts in the workers' awareness of their own economic interests, since even during the month we noticed a substantial rise in the personal deposits for stocks reaching in a certain instance 1,000 rubles (an average for the association of 623.08 rubles). As a whole for the enterprise, 83.5 percent of the members of the labor collective are stockholders but it was rather difficult to stimulate the development of stockholder relations. A credit of 1 million rubles had to be taken from the state and this the chairman of the board of the USSR Savings Bank permitted as an experiment as a loan for consumer needs. And while the total volume of stocks now reaches 2 million rubles, by the fourth quarter of 1990, the financial workers plan its growth up to 4 million rubles. The assuming of stockholder relations has demanded from each member in the collective an analysis of the occurring processes and this has meant not a formal but a real sociopolitical activeness. As a result, in April 1989, just 37.5 percent of the workers and 61.8 percent of the managers were fully satisfied with the stockholder relations (and this was with a 20 percent annual dividend). Clearly, one could feel an uncertainty in the future of the stocks as a too unusual innovation. It was only the Congress of USSR People's Deputies which added to the confidence in the positive changes (see the table).

**Distribution of Replies to the Question "In Your Opinion Will Stockholder Relations Exist in the Future at Your Enterprise?"**

Replies	April 1989		June 1989*
	Manager	Workers	Workers as Whole
Yes	22.2	41.7	62.5
No	—	4.2	—
Hard to answer, no answer	77.8	44.1	37.5

\* Questioning in June was carried out after report of M.S. Gorbachev.

All the same, stockholder relations in the association are just at the earliest stage of their development. Even the managers cannot clearly answer who is to be the distributor of the stockholder assets in the production association (38.9 percent assume that the general stockholder meeting will be this; 33.3 percent say the labor collective council; 27.8 the administration). An analogous picture is observed in polling the workers (27.1 percent say the general stockholder meeting; 37.5 percent the labor collective council and 27.1 percent the administration). Obviously, the role of the first two social organizations is not clearly delimited for a majority of the workers. Also felt are the newness of stockholder relations as well as the nondevelopment of the very system of self-management.

It is important to emphasize the high level of the voluntary entry of the workers into stockholder relations (for the managers this was 88.9 percent and for the workers 89.6 percent) and this in and of itself is an exceptionally positive moment characterizing the basic principles of the work being done by the leadership (and who has been responsible for the idea of the stocks) with the collective.

However, what has been the incentive for the leadership and for the members of the labor collective to enter into stockholder relations? In assessing the financial situation of the enterprise, it is possible to note the high profitability of the association which produces high-quality product (the surpayments for efficiency and quality are over 15 percent of the balance sheet profit), while the profit left to the disposal of the enterprise exceeds 82 percent of the obtained balance sheet profit. Such results and opportunities have made it possible to channel, respectively, 38 percent, 32 percent and 29.5 percent of the profit left at the disposal of the enterprise into the material incentive fund, the production development fund, as well as the fund for sociocultural measures and housing construction. Calculated per worker (the so-called industrial-production personnel), the material incentive fund is over 1,900 rubles a year. At present, the association is already accepting orders for 1992, and this shows the stable position of the enterprise which in addition converted to a lease as of 1 January 1989.

If one compares these basic indicators with the operating results of Azovstal [Azov Steel], one of the largest enterprises in ferrous metallurgy, then its profitability level is half the amount of the Conveyer PO; the profit left at the disposal of the enterprise is just 20-25 percent of the annual balance sheet profit, while the share of surpayments obtained by the enterprise for efficiency and quality is 0.6 percent of the balance sheet profit. For this reason, the material incentive fund per employee is just 240 rubles a year and, consequently, it is virtually impossible to eke the amounts for stock and dividends from such a miserly fund. An analogous picture is observed at the Mariupol Hosiery Mill (only 27 percent of the balance sheet profit remains for the enterprise, while the material incentive fund per worker is 514 rubles with a wage of 174 rubles a month) and at the Azovmash [Azov Machinery] PO of the USSR Ministry of Heavy, Power and Transport Machine Building (the enterprise keeps just 33.9 percent of the balance sheet profit, the material incentive funds per worker are 428 rubles with a wage of 226 rubles a month).

This is why 17.7 percent of the leaders questioned at the Conveyer PO feel that in the absence of stock the enterprise would have enough funds for resolving questions of technical and social development. Actually, at the Conveyer PO stocks comprised just 2 percent of the total value of the enterprise's fixed and working capital. For this reason, their role in the successes of the association is still slight.

At the same time, the association's General Director V.M. Vologozhin sees his enterprise in the future as a State Joint Stock Enterprise, that is, he gives exceptionally great importance to stockholder relations in increasing the level of worker interest in the real work successes of the association's labor collectives not only over the next few years but also over the long run of 15-20 years and more [3]. This strategic view of the leader is fully shared by 11.1 percent of the association's managers and this is completely normal for a new undertaking. More immediate for the remainder are such tactical tasks as the technical reequipping of the enterprise (55.6 percent of those questioned), the building of sociocultural and service facilities (27.8 percent) and improving pension coverage for the workers (17.7 percent). But there is one other aspect which usually they do not write about and endeavor to avoid. Certainly, the stocks at present are ruinous for the state, particularly when the dividends are higher than the level recommended by the USSR Ministry of Finances (6 percent). If momentarily one assumes that stocks will be sold at the nation's enterprises for the total recommended by the leadership of the Conveyor PO (80 billion rubles), then this will lead to the necessity of providing in the budget for a cover of 2.4 billion rubles of losses annually in observing the accounting rate limited by the USSR Ministry of Finances. However, in practice, for incomprehensible reasons and most probably due to a lack of responsibility, this limitation is already being bypassed. The most vivid example is the Conveyor PO (20 percent annual dividends) where they refer to the worker polls and the decisions of the Labor Collective Council, in even endeavoring to justify this economically by the necessity of developing stockholder relations in breadth and by the advisability of attracting worker funds into the national economy as a counter to inflation. But specialists both at the association itself as well as in the ministries and departments are perfectly aware of the dangerous character of such development as the state does not have the wherewithal to pay high dividends, when the dynamic development of the entire national economic complex is not ensured. And to increase the mass of money, even in the worker accounts, would mean to exacerbate the existing situation, in relying on credits and other analogous miracles.

But what has forced us to do this? For many leaders of industrial enterprises there simply is no other way out, as their organizations are not in a vacuum as even providing 280 rubles a month as an average per worker in the association, the leadership of the Conveyor PO cannot compete with the cooperatives where earnings are 2- or 3-fold higher (and far from always justified). With the present level of industrial development, with the existing level of production specialization and concentration and with the deficit in our nation, the very positing of the question of contractual prices is incorrect. The existing situation serves as the moral justification for both the enterprise leaders and the workers of many ministries and departments who easily set surpayments for quality, raise contractual prices, set high dividends

and so forth. This, in turn, further exacerbates the situation but on the other hand at least it in some way supports basic production and prevents it from stopping due to the departure of personnel and the decline in labor activeness.

In such a situation, even the most progressive idea in its implementation gives rise to a mass of negative trends. While for the workers of the Conveyor PO and Azovmash PO as a whole, there is a characteristic, approximately equal level of utilizing a series of consumer services, as well as their "desirability," for the workers who have entered into active stockholder relations (who have purchased stocks from their own savings), the level of utilizing certain services is much higher. This shows, first of all, the participation of representatives of better-off social groups in the stockholder relations. In any event, one cannot rely on the magic effect of personal interest through market conditions, one must manage this process preventing the easy obtaining of unearned money and the illegal redistribution of these funds.

The workers feel these problems with particular acuteness. For this reason, an expert poll in 1988 (N = 101 persons) has shown that the workers consider the elaboration of a scientifically sound incentive system and most importantly a new, more perfect price formation system to be the most important problem and even more significant than political reform.

However, under present-day conditions these measures no longer make it possible to fundamentally improve the socioeconomic situation, having halted the illegal redistribution of the unprecedentedly enormous "emission" money. It is essential to consider that perestroika has activated not only the poorly-off social groups but also the "superprovided" groupings. In achieving coordination in their actions, they already possess the ability to distort beyond recognition a managerial decision taken virtually on any level. And if it is considered that the leaders of the industrial enterprises and organizations, not to mention the cooperatives and cost accounting centers, are forced to violate either instructions or even the laws (including the USSR Constitution), that is, each of them at any moment could become an object of legal investigation, the possibility of blocking the positive development of socioeconomic processes in entire regions is obvious. In this situation we must urgently deprive the "superprovided" groupings of their financial base. The recommendations of V.V. Leontiyev to introduce a convertible chervonets at a rate of 50 rubles for it on the domestic market and which would "clear out the piggy bank," obviously make sense but would not fully resolve the question. For this reason, immediately after systematizing price formation, that is, issuing the corresponding enforceable enactments on the basis of scientifically sound ratios and dependences, it is essential to carry out a radical action of confiscating the "emission" money from the "superprovided" social groups. Such an action could be a monetary reform of exchanging money at a rate of 1 ruble per ruble (confirmed by documents or, in the absence of such, not over a certain amount of

exchange). The given proposal possibly would provide grounds for accusations of "Stalinism" and so forth, but it must be realized that under conditions when entire groups of the population are holding in cash or in savings banks money (and not counterfeit) in an amount exceeding several-score and possibly hundreds of billions of rubles and for many this is clearly unearned (and at present it is virtually impossible to confiscate this money by traditional economic methods), in order actually not to start a process of mass investigations, extraordinary economic sanctions must be undertaken. An exchange (it is even possible not to call it a reform) of money at the existing rate would be this sanction.

For this reason, the development of stockholder relations must be envisaged as an element of the new economic mechanism and which not only the economic workers but also the local soviets are endeavoring to develop. In an expert poll of workers from the gorspolkoms of Mariupol and Sevastopol, to the question "How do you consider the establishing of joint stock societies at the enterprises?" absolutely all respondents replied: "I completely support this as they make it possible to solve technical and social questions in the shortest time." Also, the experts affirmatively answered the question "Do you feel it necessary to improve the stockholder form for placing personal savings not only for the purposes of developing the enterprise but also for the purposes of developing the city?" It is important to emphasize that this was the opinion of persons who as an average had worked 14 years on economic problems. In actuality, the flexibility of stockholder relations makes it possible to solve serious social problems and in bringing at least relative order into price formation and improving the moral-psychological atmosphere in society, the soviets at joint meetings with the stockholders can take decisions in the aim of carrying out various social tasks drawing on deductions from the dividends. This will be accepted by the workers quite normally as material interest has nothing in common with self-seeking. The presently observed outbursts of group selfishness can be explained only by serious troubles in the managing of the economy.

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#### Social Ideas of L.D. Trotskiy: Reflections and Disputes

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[Introductory article by N.A. Vasetskiy]

[Text] One can only welcome the process commenced by perestroyka of restoring the names of many leaders of the party and the Soviet state who unjustly suffered during the years of the Stalinist repressions or arbitrarily were crossed out from our history. The haze is dispersing and we can see more clearly the outlines of the ideological heritage of Bukharin and Zinovyev, Radek and Sikolnikov, Chayanov and Kondratyev. Work is underway to investigate the political activities of Kamenev and Rykov, Tomskiy and Preobrazhenskiy....

Certainly, we are just at the beginning of this most complex process which is full of contradictions and fraught with relapses. But the fact that this involves not just historical science but virtually all sectors of Soviet social sciences, including sociology, in the first place, substantially deepens and supplements our notions concerning the past of the CPSU, the nation as a whole. Secondly, it instills the hope that the process is irreversible.

In this context I would risk voicing a supposition: the fate of perestroyka depends not only upon the success of economic and political reforms but also upon a Lenin-bold, decisive breakthrough in analyzing the history of Soviet society, the subjective or the personal factor.

For long years, we have been taught that we must see in what is occurring the activities of the masses, the social classes and groups and, to a lesser degree, the activities of political parties and organizations. Thus, we have examined social processes on the macrolevel, while at best the attitude toward the microstructures has been condescending.

Ordinarily, there has been the repetition of certain catchy quotes from "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte" by Marx, Engels' article "On Authority" has been mentioned, along with Plekhanov's "On the Question of the Role of the Individual in History," while scores of hackneyed phrases were mentioned from Lenin's Complete Collected Works. With this, the investigation of the personal factor was considered complete. We have been harshly punished for such complacency and neglect.

Since the end of the 1920s, Soviet history has not been devoid of humans. Together with any interest in studying the activities of an individual, the taste was lost for understanding the individual in our history, and without this it is inconceivable to understand its uniqueness, the variety of events and social conduct of those very classes and groups the activities of which are examined by social sciences.

At the same time, how did Lenin pose this question? Let us recall his "Letter to the Congress." He linked the stability of the Central Committee and the party as a whole to the relations between "two outstanding leaders," Stalin and Trotsky.<sup>1</sup> And that was it: two and no more. He was right! Or more accurately, however we might wish at present this is no paradox but rather a harsh irony of history—that Lenin in the given instance erred. Take away these "two leaders" from our history and I do not know what it would have been, how the party, the nation and certainly the entire world would have developed.

Hence, the completely natural interest in both Stalin and Trotsky. Regardless of the increase in the number of articles about them both, the interest of the Soviet people is far from being satisfied. On the other hand, in the materials which have appeared there are many more questions than there are answers to them.

What was the essence of Trotskyism and its analog, Stalinism? How did they arise and develop within the party, on what strata were they based and whose interests did they defend? What was the reason for the mortal clash between Stalin and Trotsky as persons and as politicians who, regardless of the external hostility between them, the opposition of characters and style of thought, were internally much closer to one another than each of them was to Lenin?

The authors of the presented articles in part answer these and other questions. The articles certainly are far from equal both in terms of the perception of the activities of Trotsky, in the assessments of his interpretations of Stalin's activities and in the depiction of the canvas of internal party relations in the 1920s and 1930s.

Nevertheless, even regardless of the different views of the authors, I am convinced that the "kaleidoscope" prepared by the magazine is one of the successful methods of discussing and debating the problem of Trotsky and Trotskyism. I am confident that there will be still others desiring to continue the commenced discussion. And not only about Trotsky.

What prevents us from including in the perusal of the researchers other, no less disputed political figures than Trotsky from the history of the Russian and international revolutionary movement? For example, Stalin, Bukharin, Rykov, Zinovyev and Kamenev? The list could be continued at the discretion of the magazine's readers and the persons interested in such a discussion.

In a word, it is a good undertaking. It is important to continue it.

#### Footnote

1. Lenin, V.I., PSS [Complete Collected Works], Vol 45, p 345.

#### Review of Book: L. Trotsky. My Life. Attempt at an Autobiography

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[Review by N.A. Berdyayev of the book "L. Trotsky. Moya zhizn. Opyt avtobiografii" [L. Trotsky. My Life. Attempt at an Autobiography], Berlin, Granat, 2 volumes, 1930; the materials were prepared by V.V. Sapov]

[Text] Any biography is egocentric. That is its subject. The autobiography of L. Trotsky is very egocentric. He himself does not conceal this. For him, the autobiography is an active moment of his own biography, he wages a struggle in it and settles scores with enemies. This is not at all the type of autobiography which is written in old age, when the struggle is over and there no longer is a future, when memory wishes to resurrect the irretrievably dead past, when one sums up the results of a life and wishes to give it some permanent meaning. L. Trotsky continues to believe that the future is his and he wants to struggle for it. The book is written to glorify L. Trotsky as a great revolutionary and even more for humiliating his mortal enemy Stalin as a nobody and a paltry epigone. But it has been written in a very talented manner and is very interesting to read. Undoubtedly, L. Trotsky stands many heads higher in all regards over the other Bolsheviks if one does not consider Lenin. Lenin, of course, was larger and stronger, he was the head of the revolution but Trotsky was more talented and brilliant. In places the autobiography is written very artistically, in those places where the author is not engaged in party squabbles. L. Trotsky has the artistic susceptibility of L. Tolstoy. These places provide a breathing space and the reader can rest from the overwhelming by petty details and squabbles of revolutionary life. Trotsky's life is of significant interest and it raises one very serious subject, the subject of the dramatic fate of a revolutionary individual in a revolutionary collective, a subject which with the monstrous ingratitude of any revolution overthrows and exterminates its famous creators. Not without pride L. Trotsky states that he has no personal fate and that his fate is fused with the fate of the revolution which he serves. This is self-deception and self-pity. L. Trotsky does have a personal fate and he in vain seeks to conceal its bitterness. The most active of the revolutionaries has ended up a superfluous and unnecessary person in the revolutionary era. This is a lamentable fate for an individual. The talented and brilliant Trotsky who along with Lenin created the Bolshevik Revolution is overthrown by the revolutionary current and finds himself a refuge only in Turkey. Ungifted in comparison with him, insignificant and not playing a major role, Stalin is the dictator, the head of the revolution, the ruler of the destinies of Russia and possibly the entire world. Trotsky will never be able to stomach this and will never succeed in understanding the revolutionary era from within. Here one must go into a deeper level of life in order to



understand these things. People with Trotsky's philosophy never delve into the problem of personal destiny, rather they always stifle inner life in themselves with external struggle. Trotsky's autobiography is, of course, a very interesting and talented document of our revolutionary struggle. But it suffers from the insignificance of an inner life of the soul which discloses its life. This soul has been abandoned on the surface, completely facing outwards with everything deriving from external matters. The life of this soul is described as if there was no soul itself or in any event it has no spiritual principal. Why did Trotsky become a revolutionary, why did socialism become his faith, and why did he dedicate all his life to social revolution? The inner genesis of Trotsky's faith, the inner shaping of his ideology are almost completely undisclosed. The inner motives given by him for the forming of a revolutionary feeling for life are insignificant and cannot explain such revolutionary energy. It is striking to what degree Trotsky is alien to all the mental and spiritual currents of his age. For him, nothing exists aside from Marxism and the most naive materialism. He is so distant that he is not even negative toward other ideas. He is a very intelligent person but his mental viewpoint is extremely narrow and his interests are very monotonous. He reads novels in his leisure hours but this is only a relaxation from the revolutionary struggle, but inwardly he is not at all moved by this reading. As a writer, he is merely a talented journalist. In his emigre wanderings he met with Ragaz, the Swiss Leftist Socialist and at the same time a believing Christian and Protestant. The mystic socialist evoked in Trotsky only an "unpleasant chill." He limited himself to the bland comment that he could not find any psychological contact with persons who "managed to recognize Darwin and the Trinity simultaneously." This seems the only place where Trotsky speaks about the religious question. He remains an old type of educator and rationalist as was Lenin, but less meanly political.

What do we learn from Trotsky's autobiography? What seems indisputable to me is that L. Trotsky is not a true communist, not a complete communist and it is no accident that he was left out at a certain stage of the communist revolution. In the past, he was not a Bolshevik and he vainly endeavors to play down his Menshevism, even though it was a leftist one. Trotsky is a very typical revolutionary, a grand-style revolutionary, but not a typical communist. He does not understand the most important thing, what I would call the mystique of the collective. It was precisely this dedication to the mystique of the collective which forced Rykov and many others to behave in such a manner that from the outside the impression was gained of their cowardice and treachery toward others with whom they worked. The collective, the general line of the Communist Party is analogous to the church synods and any person who wishes to remain orthodox must subordinate himself to the conscience and mind of the collective. L. Trotsky was a revolutionary in the old sense of the word, in the sense of the 19th Century. There was no place for him in the constructive period of the communist revolution.

His idea of permanent revolution is a romantic idea. Trotsky still gives significance to individuality, he feels that it is possible to have an individual opinion, individual criticism, individual initiative, he believes in the role of heroic revolutionary figures and he disdains mediocrity and talentlessness. It was no accident that he has been accused of individualism and aristocraticness. And precisely he, the organizer of the Red Army and the supporter of world revolution in no way evokes that awe-inspiring feeling which real communism evokes and which causes the final extinguishing of personal awareness, private thought, private conscience and there is a complete fusing with the collective. There is one other particular feature which distinguishes L. Trotsky. Theatricality and rhetoric are not inherent to the Russian people. The Russian Revolution had absolutely no beautiful theatrical gestures or the rhetorical embellishments of the French Revolution. Possibly, it is a good thing that there was no theatrical beauty in it. But it is a bad thing that it has true ugliness. The Bolsheviks entered Russian life at the very first moment in an ugly manner, with an ugly expression of faces, with ugly gestures, and they brought with them an ugly way of life. This deformity shows an ontological injury. The Bolsheviks themselves feel this deformity and this causes their feeling of resentment.

This in part explains their disgraceful actions. Lenin himself almost intentionally tried for the ugly, he spoke and wrote coarsely and inelegantly. Trotsky was one of the few who tried to maintain the beauty of the image of the revolutionary. He loved theatrical gestures, he was inclined to revolutionary rhetoric and in his style he differs from a large portion of his comrades whom he in essence disdains. L. Trotsky has still not realized that we are entering a new revolutionary age and that the old revolutionary way and revolutionary zeal are not suitable for it.

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### Problems of Small Peoples of the North

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[Article by Aleksandr Nikolayevich Averin, doctor of philosophical sciences and professor at the Academy for the National Economy under the USSR Council of Ministers. Our journal has published his article "The Formation of the Social Infrastructure in the Western Siberian Oil and Gas Region" (No 4, 1986, co-author)]

[Text] In the CPSU Platform on party nationality policy under present-day conditions, an important place is given over to the problems of the development of the small peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East. It is pointed out that "industrial development of the territories inhabited by them has been carried out without proper consideration of their way of life or the social and



ecological consequences. These peoples require special state protection and aid" [1, p 228].

It is a question of the Aleuts, Dolgans, Itelmens, Kets, Koryaks, Mansi, Nanaytsy, Iganasans, Negidalets, Nenets, Nivkhi, Oroch, Saams, Selkups, Tofalars, Udegeytsi, Ulchas, Khantis, Chuvantsy, Chukchi, Evenki, Evens, Entsi, Eskimos and Yukagirs. The most numerous of these are the Nenets (29,500) and Evenki (27,300); the smallest are the Aleuts and the Negidalets (500 each) [2, pp 402-403], the Oroks (450 persons) and Entsi (350 persons) [3, pp 349, 527]. In their aggregate their number exceeds 190,000 with 187,000 living in the RSFSR. As a total in the regions of the Far North and equivalent territories of 11 million km<sup>2</sup> (64 percent of the entire area of the RSFSR) there are 9.5 million persons, that is 6.5 percent of the republic population.

We will examine the problems of the peoples in the Tyumen North. Our choice is explained by the fact that precisely here is located the nation's largest Western Siberian oil and gas complex. The number of indigenous nationalities in the district is slight and is 2.5 percent of all the residents. They are Mansi, Nentsy, Selkups and Khanti. They live in two towns Khanty-Mansiysk and Salekhard but predominantly in 12 rural rayons. At the beginning of 1989, around 40,000 resided here: around 20,000 Nenets, around 15,000 Khantis, almost 4,000 Mansi and less than 1,500 Selkups.

In 1988, the natural increase was a little more than a thousand persons and this was due primarily to the low birthrate. Thus, over the last 8 years, the annual average increase has been 378 persons. The number of deaths over the same period declined by 265. Life expectancy has particularly dropped for the Khanti and Mansi and this now equals 42-45 years. Among the reasons is the incidence of tuberculosis (5-fold higher than the average for the RSFSR) and infant mortality (double the figure) [4].

Progress has not particularly influenced the traditional methods of economic life for these nationalities. As before, they are engaged in hunting, fishing and reindeer raising. However, the invasion of oil and gas workers and construction workers has gradually destroyed the unique way of the Northern peoples and has killed the flora and fauna. In the Khanty-Mansiysk and Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrugs, some 11 billion hectares of reindeer pasture have been lost, 28 commercial fishing rivers, 17,700 hectares of spawning and foraging grounds. Some 50 percent of the associated gas is burned off in torches. At the same time, just 0.5-0.7 percent of the capital investments is spent for protecting the environment in the region, while it would take 43 billion rubles just to recover the land and water lost over the last 30 years [5].

The poor organization of labor in the traditional economic sectors repels people. They do not see any personal benefit for themselves from the development of industry in their region. On the other hand, the negative consequences are apparent to all. In line with this, it has

been rightly pointed out that the Yamalo-Nenets and Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Okrugs are world suppliers of fuel. But the indigenous inhabitants not only do not receive anything from the general "fuel-energy pie" but also constantly suffer from the offensive by the oil and gas giants [6, p 79]. In comparison with the workers employed in industry, the indigenous inhabitants of Tyumen Oblast received a miserly wage of 24-26 rubles in comparison with 400 [4].

A solution to the entire range of problems will depend largely upon whether the indigenous peoples become the real masters of the natural wealth located on the territory of the autonomous okrugs. It is high time for the ministries and departments, the associations and enterprises developing the oil and gas deposits in these regions to consider their needs. The local soviets should play a decisive role in working out an optimum reconciliation of general state and departmental interests with the interests of the indigenous inhabitants.

Modern methods of state administration orient the okrug soviets to independent solutions of local problems without looking to the Center, as was the case in the not distant past. The Union organizations can intervene into the economic, social and ecological problems of a region only with the agreement of the local authorities. As a method which in the near future can produce tangible results, we propose a transition to territorial or regional cost accounting. This will make it possible, in our view, to limit the departmental approach to the development of the oil and gas deposits and make more rational and careful use of the region's natural riches.

A specific feature of the region is the concentration of the basic mass of the population in the towns and worker settlements. The urban population in the Khanty-Mansiysk Okrug is 88.6 percent (997,000 persons) and in the Yamalo-Nenets it is 76.8 percent (330,000), while as an average for the oblast it is 74.2 percent. This is explained by the fact that the towns and settlements are erected in areas where the oil and gas deposits are being tapped, and where newcomers from the entire nation are employed. Clearly it is impossible to plan the further fate of the region without considering their interests. This is the second aspect of the problem. It is also essential to consider the high level of migration in the given portion of the population. Thus, in 1988, around 210,000 persons arrived in Tyumen Oblast, and over 177,000 left. And this was regardless of the fact that recently there has been a significant rise in the capital investments into the construction of housing, schools, preschool and medical facilities and other projects of the social infrastructure. Capital investments for improving the everyday life of the indigenous population have been rising significantly more slowly. Thus, from 1980 through 1988, almost 12-fold more money was invested than in previous years into housing construction in the Yamalo-Nenets Okrug, while only 3.4-fold more in the regions where the nationalities of the North reside. In 1988 (in comparison with

1985), the number of hospital beds in the Khanty-Mansiysk Okrug increased by 26-fold, in the Yamalo-Nenets by 5.7, visits to a polyclinic per shift by 10-fold and places in clubs and houses of culture by 5.4; over this same time in the regions where the indigenous nationalities reside, the number of hospital beds increased by just 872, visits to physicians in polyclinics by 1.7-fold and places in club institutions by 13,400.

Further data. From 1980 through 1988, in the Khanty-Mansiysk Okrug each year the number of student desks in the general education schools increased by a thousand and by a similar number in the children's preschool institutions. Over this same time, in the Yamalo-Nenets Okrug, the number of annually completed student places declined by 592, while in the Khanty-Mansiysk the number of hospital beds even declined by 40.

The annual retail commodity turnover, including public dining, increased by 40 million rubles from 1981 through 1988. While as a whole for the Khanty-Mansiysk Okrug this figure is 169.9 percent, for the nationalities of the North it is 93.9 percent.

The same trends are characteristic for trade. Thus, in 1988, in comparison with 1981, the number of stores in the Khanty-Mansiysk Okrug increased by 141.4 percent and in the Yamalo-Nenets by 174.6 percent, and in the regions where the indigenous nationalities reside by 119.2 and 118.7 percent, respectively. Thus, a rather joyless picture results. The development level of the social infrastructure in the newly developed regions of Tyumen Oblast is lower than the national average while the standard of living of the indigenous peoples of the North, in turn, is below this level. In many settlements there are no hospitals, schools, clubs, bakeries, baths and stores. Some lack electricity (or it is supplied irregularly). For this reason, the indigenous inhabitants are in no hurry to say farewell to their kerosene and fat lamps. There is not enough housing with full amenities. Only a few houses have gas, a water supply and central heating [6, p 77].

There are also many unsolved problems in spiritual life. Not all have a complete mastery of the mother tongue. Moreover, there is a declining number of persons who consider the language of their nationality to be their mother tongue. In the 1988-1989 school year, only around 4,000 children studied their mother tongue.

Evidently there is no other method for preserving national culture, national uniqueness and independence. Along with the schools, the libraries should play a decisive role in this question. However, here too, things are far from in order. In 1988, only 16 libraries out of the 151 had book holdings in the languages of the peoples of the North. Here 15 libraries are located in the Khanty-Mansiysk Okrug and only one in the Yamalo-Nenets. Prior to 1987, there were just two of them.

Thus, in our view, a solution to the problems raised in the article is extremely important for the normal existence of the peoples of the Far North and their further development.

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### How to Keep the Equipment Operator Down on the Farm?

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[Article by Ivan Fedorovich Yaroshenko, candidate of economic sciences and chief of the Labor Safety Subdepartment at the Sumy Agroindustrial Council. This is the first time he appears in our journal]

[Text] In 1986-1989 in Sumy Oblast, an integrated study was made of the working and living conditions of agricultural equipment operators for working out proposals to keep them on the farms. Used as the basis were the reports on the kolkhozes and data from a sociological poll of 4,100 tractor and combine operators from 143 kolkhozes in the oblast. As a result of the work done, we obtained data confirming the initially advanced hypothesis, namely that the problem of providing the farms with equipment operator personnel is not so much in the training of ever-new specialists as it is one of creating normal working and living conditions for those already in the countryside. In being clearly aware that such a conclusion can certainly not be ranked as a global discovery, we feel nevertheless that the work which would bring the solution to this problem from an area of noble intentions to specific deeds is going on extremely feebly, there has been no cooperation and has as yet not led to any tangible results. For this reason, we would like

to offer to interested persons our own vision of the situation and the ways to improve it.

As of the present, we have the following picture: as an average over the period from 1976 through 1988, each year some 2,600 equipment operators were dismissed from the oblast's agricultural production. Virtually every 8 or 9 years, this personnel was completely replaced. The forecast for the future also is not encouraging. If things go as before, then by 1995, the number of tractor and combine operators will decline by 26.7 percent in our oblast in comparison with 1985, and calculated per 1,000 hectares of agricultural land it will be 9.3 persons with a standard requirement of 13.2 persons.

The main reason for the intensive departure of personnel, as one might expect, is the dissatisfaction with working, living and recreational conditions. Our respondents—dismissed tractor and combine operators (a total of 1,601 persons)—pointed to the following reasons for their move: dissatisfaction with working conditions—11.2 percent, a desire to live and work in the city—8.3 percent, the search for highly-paid work—8.1 percent, a deterioration of health—7.2 percent, dissatisfaction with housing conditions—6.6 percent, due to family circumstances—4.8 percent, because of transfer to other work—4.4 percent, dismissal due to violation of labor and production discipline—2.1 percent and for other reasons—3.2 percent. Most inclined to change their place of residence and employment are young persons under the age of 30, and 40.7 percent of them give as the reason the physically heavy labor while 30.5 percent give the low wages. The information obtained by us indicates that this assessment is not a subjective one as out of the 115 equipment operators let go due to state of health, 75 had not reached pension age (from 50 to 60 years).

Due to the fact that the tractor and combine operators were often forced to leave work because of state of health, without having reached pension age, it would be advisable in the new Pension Regulations to provide for the possibility of lowering the age limit for this category of workers, setting as the basic criterion 25 years of employment in the given specialty.

But this is already a general recommendation the execution of which depends, unfortunately, not solely upon our desire.

An agricultural equipment operator must basically perform three types of work: tractor-field, transport and repair. Here their working conditions have rather substantial differences. Equipment is being delivered rather intensely to the kolkhozes. But one out of every three kolkhozes does not have a central repair shop; in one out of two tractor brigades there is no maintenance center; in 11.6 percent of the brigades there are no areas for the repair and maintenance of units, and 13.2 percent have no water supply. In one out of three brigades there is no gas welding equipment or screw-cutting lathe and in one out of five there is no tool-grinding or drilling machine or electrical welding equipment. Only certain brigades

have sheds, garages and washing racks. On one out of every four brigades there is no foreman, smith, gas or electric welder or lathe operator. That is the situation. And we want the people to like to work steadily under extreme conditions and not try to change their situation, but no thought is given to altering the situation on the farm.

Now about the working conditions of an equipment operator. His workplace is the equipment. We have surveyed 3,909 tractors and 191 grain-harvesting combines (respectively, 29.8 percent and 6.3 percent of their total number). The operating time was distributed as follows: 91.4 percent of the machines are under 8 years and 4.1 percent are under 1 year. Some 42 percent have not undergone a major overhaul, 37.6 percent was repaired once, 14.1 percent twice and 6.3 percent over two times. For describing working conditions on the tractors and grain-harvesting combines, we have used the following indicators: temperature, dustiness and gasiness of the air, the presence of drafts, the penetration of dampness and dirt, illumination in the cab; the noise and vibration level in the cab, the danger of injury, operating reliability; convenience of maintenance, the necessary physical stress, difficulty of control. We were interested in the dynamics of these indicators depending upon the years of operation and the number of major overhauls.

The opinion of the respondents was rather unanimous: after 6 years of operation and the first major overhaul, the parameters for the sanitary and hygienic elements of working conditions satisfy them by less than 50 percent, and by the end of the amortization life, negative estimates increased further. Here many pointed to the fact that after the major overhauls the initial levels of the sanitary and hygienic standards were not regained. The MTZ-82 and MTZ-80 tractors received the highest overall evaluation for working conditions. The evaluations for virtually all other equipment were close to negative.

The profession of a tractor and combine operator is one of the most dangerous in agriculture. In recent years, the injury rate has reached 21-27 percent. Most often the accidents happened in the disassembly, in putting the machines up for storage and in transporting freight (72.2 percent of the total number). The MTZ-50, T-150K and certain other tractors are the most dangerous (in terms of the indicator of the frequency of accidents per 1,000 machines). Wheeled tractors are almost 1.5-fold more dangerous than caterpillar ones.

The basic reasons for production injury are to be found, unfortunately, in the dangerous actions of the victim himself (46.1 percent of all injuries) as well as in the unsatisfactory organization of labor (22.8 percent), in the malfunctions and design failings of the machines and equipment (17.3 percent) and in the unsatisfactory state of the environment (10.7 percent). Although here we must make an essential stipulation. It is no secret that the workers responsible for safety equipment as well as

the administration often persuade the victim to assume the blame, promising appropriate compensation (in order themselves to escape from responsibility). For this reason, the injury rate due to the dangerous actions of the victim himself is possibly somewhat inflated.

Most frequently injuries befall experienced operators and over 10 years of experience and a qualification of classes I and II, with some 52.2 percent. This can be explained probably by the fact that they may become overconfident, they may neglect the safety measures and feel that nothing will happen. A majority of the accidents can be prevented if they would effectively conduct propaganda and training in safety measures and strengthen control over the quality of performing the work. Very alarming is the circumstance that on the oblast kolkhozes some 31.4 percent of the injuries end in the death of persons who are on the job in a state of alcoholic inebriation.

We have examined those questions which concern working conditions. Now let us move on to the second group of the social infrastructure, everyday life and leisure. Our research has established that over 50 percent of those questioned were dissatisfied with the hours of working and rest during the summer season and 30 percent in the winter season, while 19 percent were completely dissatisfied. The equipment operators have very little free time: in 98.3 percent, the duration of the work day considering the time on the job and at home is 14 hours in the winter and 16 in the summer. Only 37 percent promptly received days off, while 73 percent received regular leave. Over the last 5 years, just 22.4 percent had taken vacations in resorts, including 11.6 percent in vacation homes, 7.2 percent in sanatoriums and 3.6 percent in vacation camps. We were also interested in what measures were being taken by the oblast leaders to improve the domestic services for the equipment operators, for organizing their meals, medical, trade and cultural-domestic services, organized delivery to the workplace and back. In the opinion of 42.9 percent, consumer and cultural services were not available, 9.3 percent noted their irregularity, while 47.8 percent, that is, less than one-half, were satisfied with all types of services. What was lacking first of all? Only 56 percent of the workers was provided with changing rooms, 72 percent with showers, 85 percent with wash-rooms, 68 percent with resting rooms, 71 percent with equipment operator houses, 53 percent with dining rooms and 25 percent with medical preventive clinics. Moreover, of the 1,543 population points, 595 do not have district hospitals and 95 are without outpatient clinics, 1,154 do not have full-service receiving centers, 600 are without clubs, 138 without trade booths, and one out of every two villages is without hard-surfaced roads.

Now, from the example of the farms in our oblast having examined what prevents people from settling down in one spot and impels them to decide to move, we will endeavor to define the range of measures which might halt this process. Here let us take up three points: What

are we doing already? What should we do? What can we do? This is because our desires to not always coincide with our capabilities.

It is perfectly obvious that the problem must be solved in a comprehensive manner, considering all aspects of the labor process, including: sociohygienic, psychophysiological, psychological, economic, aesthetic, cultural-everyday, material-technical and normative-legal.

The groupings of answers to the questions of what measures for retaining the personnel are considered to be primary indicate that in the forefront are working conditions (organization, wages, mechanization) with 33.9 percent, followed by an improvement in the social infrastructure of the countryside with 25.8 percent, cultural and everyday services with 28.6 percent and then housing conditions and the operation of schools and preschool institutions with 14 percent.

Under the conditions of scientific and technical progress, the questions of improving the working conditions of equipment operators cannot be solved without considering the human factor, that is, we must not overlook human capabilities. Any labor process is performed in a certain production situation and the sanitary-hygiene working conditions are a component part of this.

An important measure which ensures an improvement in working conditions is certification of the work areas. This is carried out on the farms at least twice every 5 years and a work area is considered certified only when all demands are met in terms of sanitary-hygienic conditions, sanitary-domestic services, hours of work and rest and the protecting of health. In addition, they take into account fire safety, paint color, the presence of safety signs, the promptness of training and instructions on safety measures.

On-the-job injuries due to the factor of poor training of employees in the safety rules can be minimized if, in the first place, there is a significant rise in the level of vocational training for all equipment operators and specialists (on the kolkhozes of Sumy Oblast 61.8 percent of the chief specialists have a higher education and 36.9 percent have a specialized secondary education, specialists of the middle level have a higher education in 28.6 percent of the cases and a specialized secondary one in 56.7 percent; only 14.7 percent of the practical workers do); secondly, creating a good physical plant for instruction with labs and corners for safety methods (we have functioning almost 300 such labs or 90 percent of the amount required according to estimates; unfortunately, only a little more than 60 percent of them meet the "Regulation on the Labor Safety Lab"); thirdly, work must be organized to propagandize labor safety and generalize advanced experience.

Of essential importance in preventing injuries is the labor safety service. On the oblast kolkhozes this is 90.4 percent manned, but only on 18.2 percent of the farms are there specialists at work with a higher education, on

77 percent there are specialists with a specialized secondary education and on 4.8 percent of the farms there are practical workers. On almost one out of every four kolkhozes the position of labor safety engineer is combined with other positions and this is incorrect.

However, in expecting aid from the state, we are not sitting with our hands folded. At present, the oblast has been assigned 16.6 million rubles for socioeconomic changes. By the end of the five-year plan, we intend to carry out the following measures using these: reconstruct 66 repair shops, bring the working conditions of 17,200 equipment operators up to the established standards for the parameters of noise, vibration, dustiness, pollution, air temperature and humidity; provide changing rooms for 20,000 places, 600 showers, 140 resting rooms, 80 rooms for drying and decontaminating special clothing, 50 mobile vans for the resting of equipment operators and 30 medical preventive clinics. We see this as our contribution to retaining and stabilizing the personnel in the countryside.

Over the last 5-7 years, our kolkhozes have put over 3,500 shops in proper order and some 1,700 buildings and structures have undergone a major overhaul. Working conditions have been improved for 27,000 workers. This is what we have already done. Now what must be done to change the existing practice. We must clearly improve the assemblies on the T-25, T-150K and other tractors by installing a rigid cab frame, by providing heating and ventilation, heat and noise insulating, air conditioning, install an electric drive for the windshield wiper, and for starting the main engine just from the operator's seat, equip the tractors and towed equipment with an automatic coupler, sensors and automatic devices which prevent tipping over, the colliding of machines or the running down of a person. In line with the use of herbicides and pesticides there is the need to make the tractor cab airtight, install in it dependable pressurized ventilating and a special air cleaner.

Considering that even after the first major overhaul of the tractors and grain-harvesting combines, the working conditions on a majority of these units deteriorate sharply, it is essential to work out a state standard for a procedure to receive them back from a major overhaul setting such indicators as noise and vibration, gasiness, dustiness and air temperature in the cab; the physical strain on the control organs (feet, hands) and the airtightness of the cab. In the nation it would be advisable to organize technical control over the parameters of these indicators, timing this with the annual technical inspections of the tractors and combines in service.

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### Conversion: Social Aspect of Problem

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press 30 Mar 90) pp 112-116

[Article by Vadim Leonidovich Kunin, candidate of historical sciences, junior science associate at the Institute for the International Working Movement of the USSR Academy of Sciences. This is the first time he appears in our journal]

[Text] In the practice of the new political thinking, an important place is held by the problem of converting from an economy of arming-up to an economy of disarmament and the planned conversion of military expenditures and production to a civilian footing. As international experience shows, conversion involves virtually all aspects of the life of a society and encounters serious political, sociopsychological and economic difficulties. Nor are negative social consequences to be avoided from converting defense to producing peacetime products. This aspect is particularly important.

How do things stand with preparing for conversion in the Soviet Union? Do we have a sufficiently clear and scientifically based program? An analysis of articles in the press by specialists and leaders of the corresponding departments makes it possible to conclude that there is no such program. On the other hand, there is an abundance of overly optimistic forecasts that the defense enterprises, in possessing high technical potential and highly skilled personnel, are capable of quickly resolving a multiplicity of urgent economic problems.

Thus, the report by the Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and Chairman of the State Military-Industrial Commission I.S. Belousov at the First Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet mentioned nine sore points in the national economy which the defense industry could cure. But not a word about the difficulties nor a word about the experience of the countries which are already resolving the difficult problems related to this changeover. An equally confident note sounded in his interview with the newspaper PRAVDA and he spoke correctly about the need to work out a comprehensive state program for the conversion of the defense industry for 1991-1995. However, the main problem was seen in the optimum allocation of production capacity released as a result in the curtailment of the production of weapons and military equipment. Consequently, the entire spectrum of social problems remains outside the interests of the departments. Again our nation is following the empirical trial and error method instead of utilizing the experience of other states.

As of now, in accord with proposals made by M.S. Gorbachev at the United Nations, we are fully converting three defense enterprises: the Yoshkar-Ola and Yuryuzan Machine Plants and the Leninskaya Kuznitsa Shipbuilding Yard which by 1991 will convert completely to producing peacetime products. Proceeding from this, the Department for Comparative Research in

Studying the Working Class Under the Conditions of the Scientific and Technical Revolution at the Institute of the International Workers Movement (leaders E.V. Klopov, L.A. Gordon with the participation of A.K. Nazimova) conducted an express poll of the workers at the Yoshkar-Ola Machine Plant in the aim of ascertaining their attitude toward conversion in the context of the coming economic, social and psychological problems. The results make it possible to dispell numerous myths prevailing in mass conscience and still disseminated by the interested departments concerning the supposed "ease" of carrying out conversion due to the high technical equipping, professionalism and social coverage for the defense enterprise workers.

### Object of the Research

The volume of the sample was 187 persons. For ascertaining in the studied aggregate the sociologically significant qualitative subgroups it was necessary to break down a number of demographic and social features of the respondents: sex, age, profession and skill.

Women predominated among those questioned with 76.4 percent. Such a ratio is no accident. This is determined by the specific features of production and at a number of machine building enterprises studied by us previously there is an analogous profile, with the proportional amount of women averaging 60 percent of all workers during the years of the 11th Five-Year Plan, and their number in hazardous or technically poorly equipped areas has steadily risen.

The most significant age group was made up of workers from 30 to 40 years of age with 45.4 percent, followed by those 41-50 years of age with 33.6 percent; from 20 to 39 years were 18.1 percent; workers over 50 comprise an absolute minority of 3.2 percent. All those questioned were from the main and largest shops including: assembly and automatic-machine.

Naturally, the choice of production determined the professional status of the respondents. A predominant majority had low-skill professions such as assemblers (41.1 percent) and press operators (26.7 percent). Significantly less was the share of skilled workers such as repairmen (8.5 percent), inspectors (5.3 percent), lathe operators (1.6 percent), drill operators (1 percent) and, finally, highly skilled setters-up (5.3 percent). It was precisely on them that the basic costs related to converting the plant to conversion would fall. Thus, according to the data of the enterprise labor and wage department and which we feel rather understated, just in the first stage some 277 assemblers, press operators and inspectors should be trained in related professions over a period of 3 or 4 months.

It is traditionally felt that in the leading defense enterprises both the technological level of production and the skill composition of the co-workers are high. What is the real situation? At the Yoshkar-Ola Plant, 64.7 percent of the respondents had category III, 12.8 percent were category II and 10.1 percent were category IV. Only 5.8

percent had V and 3.2 percent the highest VI. Such a situation is generally characteristic of the nation's machine building enterprises as the average level of the worker categories at the four leading machine building associations during the years of the 11th Five-Year Plan was from 3.21 to 3.68.

As for the technical level of the studied enterprise, as of 1989, the proportional amount of manual, unskilled and heavy labor was 27.8 percent. As we can see, the situation is not so blissful as the sector's leaders feel.

### The Rescuing of the Drowning Person Is a Question for the Drowning Person Himself

In their articles they have virtually completely overlooked those serious economic problems which the enterprises will encounter in converting. It is no secret that military production spoils suppliers. The reason for this lies in the existing guaranteed system for payment of military contracts and the poor development of competition even in comparison with the civilian sectors.

What is the situation at the Yoshkar-Ola Plant? As is known, by the directive decision the enterprise is obliged to complete conversion by 1991. According to the data of the plant economists, by this time, in comparison with the 1989 plan, profit will drop by 5 million rubles and the losses will not be recovered before the end of the 13th Five-Year Plan. For this reason, beginning in 1991, the enterprise will move into the category of low-profit. If the economic incentive funds (the material incentive fund, the production development fund and others) are maintained on the 1989-1990 level, then in the opinion of the plant economists and planners, a subsidy from the ministry is required amounting to 4.5 million rubles (with a minimal (2 percent) rate of capital payment) or the enterprise must be completely released from the payment. However, for now no help is foreseen. The enterprise must itself seek a way out of the difficult economic situation by developing new mass produced articles and broadening their output. However, with the low technical level of production and the very average skill level of both the workers and the engineers (there is not even a specialized design bureau) this will be difficult to do. The situation is exacerbated by the fact that the plant continues to remain under the Ministry of the Defense Industry, that is, it is keeping and not disassembling the technical and production systems of defense production. Here the enterprise is forced to deduct significant amounts for amortization and adjusting the idle equipment.

Characteristically, regardless of the attempts by the leadership to play down the pending difficulties, a majority of the workers understands the real situation. Only 3.2 percent of them feels that the situation at the enterprise will improve in line with the conversion to producing peacetime products, and 3.2 percent feel that things will not change. A majority of the respondents (59.3 percent) expect changes for the worse; 34.2 percent did not answer the posed question.

### Is the Worker Ready for Conversion?

While the technical and economic problems which will appear in converting have been more or less taken up in the articles by Soviet economists, the social aspect has almost completely dropped out of their perusal. At the same time, in the United States, for example, serious attention is paid to this since conversion leads to reduced employment. According to the data of American sociologists in 1976-1986, this has been from 4.6 to 1.6 million persons. In contrast to foreign colleagues, the leaders of the Soviet defense industry obviously feel that the specific economic conditions in our country such as the commodity hunger, the absence of intense market competition and other factors, will help to maintain the structure of defense production, that is, the quantitative composition in avoiding unemployment. In actuality, with the catastrophic manpower shortage in the nation, the defense enterprises obviously will not be confronted with the problem of unemployment. However, they will not avoid other, equally serious social problems of a completely different nature. It takes time to develop consumer goods which are adequate in technical complexity and cost to the previously produced product. With the existing level of the enterprise and the skill composition of the workers, this cannot be done quickly. While the restructuring of traditional production is underway, there is a significant drop in the earnings of all piece workers, for the representatives of the highly skilled and skilled professions and in particular adjusters of complex radio equipment, mobile radar systems, underground automatic service equipment, battle control systems, medium-range strategic missiles, radio assemblers, machinists and milling machine operators who manufacture precision mechanical instruments. Some 44.9 percent of the respondents stated that in converting their earnings would decline, a predominant minority (4.8 percent) said this would increase; 7.4 percent did not expect any change; 44.9 percent could not reply.

The restructuring of production requires changes in the professional status of many workers. Some 54 percent of the respondents agreed with this; 76.4 percent did not exclude the possibility that simultaneously they would lose in category. The loss of a profession at any age is a severe psychological trauma. For this reason, retraining is very important. The plant leadership knows precisely what number of employees will undergo retraining in the near future and a predominant majority will do this on the job. A special subdivision is concerned with organizing this, the technical training department. Only a few of those who have highly skilled professions will be sent for sectorial courses. Do the workers themselves know about this? In the opinion of the administration they do know, but according to the data of the poll they do not (91.4 percent). Only 5.8 percent of them feel that they will be retrained at courses at the enterprise and 2.6 percent at sector courses. The complete lack of information exacerbates the already difficult situation, it gives rise to uncertainty and concern, it has a negative impact

on the psychological climate in the collective, it does not help to raise labor productivity and leads to confrontation with the management.

The problem of social protection for the workers has also been outside the interest of the specialists. In a period of production cataclysms, the trade unions must come to the defense of their rights. Thus, in the United States, in considering that thousands will lose their jobs in conversion, the trade unions are struggling to minimize the percentage of persons fired. In 1984, in Boston, the First International Trade Union Conference on Various Aspects of Military Production Conversion was held. Thus, the solution to the problem is being put on a theoretical basis.

In the Soviet Union, the problem of the workers at plants to be converted has not been raised either at the AUCCTU plenums or on the pages of the trade union organ, the newspaper TRUD. Just what the authority is of the trade union organization at the Yoshkar-Ola Plant can be judged from the following fact. To the question of the problem of job placement in the event of a reduction in their jobs, only 6.95 percent of the respondents stated that they were hoping for aid from the trade union. Only 5.3 percent of them would turn for help to the soviet and party institutions. Some 4.8 percent did not trust anyone and were not hoping for any aid, and 81.2 percent of the workers did not reply.

As was already pointed out, at the defense enterprises it is not a question of mass dismissals. In the forefront are other matters directly related to the specific features of defense production. It is no secret that assembly shops at machine building plants are dangerous. In a predominant majority women are employed there. They are attracted by the prospect of an early retirement on pension. With the restructuring of assembly production, hazardousness will be reduced. But what will happen to those who have worked in hazardous production from 6 years to 6 months? This question is now being raised at the Yoshkar-Ola Plant. Of course, it is impossible to switch the female workers to other enterprises with a high level of hazardousness, but certainly the years worked by them to the detriment of their health should not be overlooked. With good reason on the questionnaires certain women wrote out: "in line with the closing down of the defense enterprises, we request keeping benefits proportional to the time worked" or "in line with the converting of the defense industry, the years worked should be considered in retiring on pension."

Our data also show that a majority of the workers do not see the currently existing professional and social organizations as their defenders capable of clashing with the management. Thus, to the question "Where would you turn for help and defense if your interests are encroached on?" only 1 percent of the respondents replied to the party committee or trade union committee; 2.6 percent said only the trade union committee (not a single Komsomol member mentioned the Komsomol committee). Some 18.1 percent of the workers hoped for the



central and local authorities; 10.1 percent would rely on the central and local press; 3.7 percent stated that they would turn to all the listed organizations, excluding the Komsomol; 3.7 percent did not reply; 15.5 percent felt that it was useless to seek the truth.

In analyzing the replies, we cannot help but point out that before our very eyes, the idea of paternalism and an unshakable belief in the protection and aid of the state are collapsing. This is due to the democratization of production management but this in essence has not reached the defense enterprises. At the Yoshkar-Ola Plant the labor collective council is a purely formal body headed by the deputy chief engineer, that is, by a representative of the management. The management also appoints the chairmen of the shop labor collective councils and their actions do not go beyond the limits of the shop trade union committees. As a result, the collective has not participated at all in discussing the time and direction of conversion. However, even now many workers are ready to defend their rights and 43.8 percent stated that they would seek justice by self-organization.

#### Is There Prestige in Defense Work?

In the context of the problem, of interest is the sociopsychological aspect related to the worker's attitude toward his enterprise. It must be pointed out that along with the overstated notions of the technical equipping of the defense industry, there is also the opinion of all sorts of social amenities. This does not correspond to the truth. To the question "Will the prestige of your work change in the converting of the enterprise?" some 36.3 percent of the respondents answered that it was already low and for this reason there would be no changes; 43.3 percent felt that prestige would not change, as it did not depend upon the workplace; 17.6 percent expected that prestige would decline and 1 percent pointed out that it depends not upon where a person works but rather how much he receives. Only 1 percent counted on a rise in prestige. Such a low assessment by the workers can lead to a situation where under the pressure of economic and social problems a mass departure begins to neighboring enterprises in the radio and electronics industry where working conditions are easier, labor efficiency significantly higher and earnings greater.

An analysis of the processes related to the converting of the Yoshkar-Ola Machine Plant to producing peacetime products makes it possible to draw the following conclusions. It is far from the technologically most advanced enterprises which are converting to serve the national economy, rather they have an average economic and social base. For this reason, the involved ministries must increase the funds for purchasing new equipment and for the development of the social sphere.

A specific conversion program is required and the workers should participate along with the managers in the discussion and adoption of this. The program must be adopted considering the capabilities of the enterprises as well as considering the interests of the employees

themselves. A brief express poll disclosed certain trends in the mood of the workers including confusion, a definite social apathy caused by the lack of information. However, one cannot help but note the increased civil self-awareness. The very fact that one-half of those questioned is ready to establish an alternative organization capable of countering the abuses of management says a great deal.

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